

Accusative Resumptive Clitic Strategy in Spanish Wh–Islands

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1. Introduction

In this mini–article, which is carried out in the Government and Binding (GB) framework, we will deal mainly with the behavior of an accusative resumptive clitic found within wh–islands in Spanish. As shown in (1a,b), the occurrence of the accusative resumptive clitic (*lo*) makes the derivation in (1b) grammatical while the derivation without the occurrence of the clitic is judged to be ungrammatical (see (1a)):

- (1) a. *qué película no recuerdas quién dirigió en el cincuenta y uno?

(Torrego 1984: 69)

‘what movie don’t you remember who directed in ‘51’?’

- b. qué libro_i no sabes quién lo_i compró? (Contreras 1992: 11b)

‘what book don’t you know who bought it (lo_i)?’

- c. quién no sabes qué película dirigió en el cincuenta y uno?

(Torrego 1984: 68)

‘who don’t you know what movie directed in ‘51’?’

On the other hand, (1c) strongly contrasts with (1a) in that the reverse ordering of the two wh–phrases (*quién* and *qué película*) gives rise to the opposite grammatical judgement, suggesting that the contrast between (1a) and (1c) cannot be reduced to Subjacency (the

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putatively universal property of all syntactic movement rules), as is commonly assumed.

Suppose that, along with Chomsky (1986) it is the most deeply embedded tensed CP which constitutes an inherent (additional) barrier to *wh*-movement in Spanish, as is originally postulated for Italian (op. cit. p. 37), and given that this CP is already a barrier independently, its additional character of barrierhood is not cumulative. As a consequence of these suppositions, there should be no difference between the following examples in (2a) and (2b):

(2) (Contreras 1994: 16; 17)

- a. **qué coche_i no sabes [CP cuándo_j [IP repararon t_i t_j]]?*
 ‘which car don’t you know when they repaired?’
- b. *qué coche_i no sabes [CP cómo_j [IP reparar t_i t_j]]?*
 ‘which car don’t you know how to repair?’

Since there indeed exists a difference between (2a) and (2b), it is clear that Chomsky’s (1986) methodology does not accommodate the data, at least in Spanish, thus unable to explicate either the difference in (2a) and (2b) nor that between (1a) and (1c). Next we will assume, as in Contreras (1994), that the most deeply embedded tensed IP forms an inherent (additional) barrier in Spanish, as in English. This makes it possible to properly account for the difference in (2a) and (2b). In (2a), there are two categories (i.e. CP and IP) identified as barriers while in (2b), in which the most deeply embedded CP is an atemporal clause, the single barrier (i.e. CP) intervenes between the *wh*-phrase (*qué coche_i*) and its trace (*t_i*). However, the same line of reasoning will predict both (1a) and (1c) to be ungrammatical, clearly contrary to the facts. In sum, as far as the Spanish data given above are concerned, it appears that no account based on Subjacency offers us any proper explication of the data involved.¹⁾

From the above observation it follows that prior to elucidating some process to properly account for the difference between (1a) and (1b)

it is crucial to discuss and explicate the contrast between (1a) and (1c) (and that between (2a) and (2b)), not on the basis of Subjacency but on some other universal process, which, we assume in this article, will be identified as the Empty Category Principle which requires that a nonpronominal empty category be properly governed (the definition of proper government to be given in the next section).

2. Spanish CP Structure and System of the Definitions

In this section, we assume the following sentence structure for Spanish in which there exist two categories (Σ_1 and Pol(arity)) and their projections between C and Agrs:

$$(3) [CP [\Sigma_1' [\text{Pol}' [\text{Agrs}' [\Sigma_2P [T' [\text{AgroP} [V' \dots V \dots]]]]]]]]]^{2)}$$

Along the lines of Fukui and Speas (1986) and Contreras (1991) we postulate that only functional categories can project to the X'' level, while lexical categories project only to the X' level. Thus, lexical categories are not equipped with a Specifier position. Furthermore, it is assumed that the categories (Σ_1 , Agrs and T) can be parametrized with respect to the feature $[\pm\text{lexical}]$, with Spanish marked positive and French, for instance, marked otherwise for this parameter. Following the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis that subjects are base-generated as adjuncts (Koopman and Sportiche 1991), it follows that in the Spanish SVO order, the subject element has moved up from its base position in which it is governed by the matrix Agrs and Case-marked as Nominative to some other position which is hypothesized to be the left Pol'-adjoined position (via Topicalization by movement) or has been base-generated in a position such as a left Agrs' -, Pol' -, or Σ_1' -adjoined position or a nonargument CP-adjoined position (Topicalization by dislocation).

The negative and affirmative marker (*no*, *sí*) are base-generated in the position of Σ_2 and later obligatorily move to Pol (cf. Zanuttini 1994), while Σ_1 can be lexicalized as the focus marker (*sí que*), as

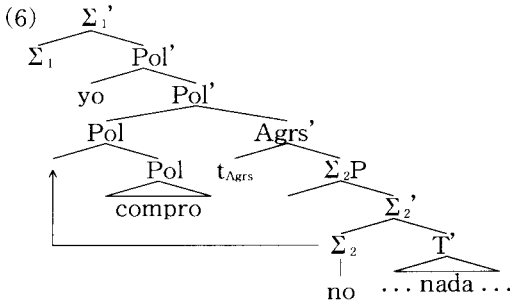
shown in (4):

- (4) a. MARTA *sí que nunca* se acuesta tarde (Campos 1986:p.169)
 ‘it is Marta that never goes to bed late’
 b. MARTA *sí que no* vendrá a la fiesta (ibid.: p.168)
 ‘it is Marta that does not come to the party’
 c. *MARTA *no sí que* vendrá a la fiesta
 d. MARTA *sí que sí* trabaja mucho (Campos 1986: p.168)
 ‘it is Marta that indeed works a lot’
 f. *sé que* MARTA *sí que nunca* se acuesta tarde
 ‘I know that it is Marta that never goes to bed late’

Furthermore, the following examples in (5) clearly show that the finite verb (*compro*) is located in the position of Pol. Notice here that the negative marker (*no*) and the negative polarity Item (*nada* “nothing”) are moved to Pol and Spec (Pol), respectively.

- (5) a. *no yo compro (Stevens 1991: 12a)
 ‘I do not buy’
 b. *nada yo compro (ibid.: 12b)
 c. yo no compro nada (ibid.: 12c)
 d. nada compro yo (ibid.: 12d)
 ‘I do not buy anything’

The ungrammatical status of (5a) and (5b) can properly be accounted for, since there exists no position for the maximal projection (*yo*) inside Pol (5a) and between Spec (Pol) and Pol (5b). On the other hand, the grammaticality of (5c) is shown in the following structure for this example in which the subject can be thought to be base-generated in the left ‘Pol’-adjoined position, for instance (left dislocation):³¹



It remains to elucidate how it is that the focus element (*Marta*) is located in the left Σ_1' -adjoined position in examples (4a-f) and to explain the difference between (7a) and (7b) and that between (8a) and (8b) in which the finite verb must immediately follow the focus phrase (*un anillo de brillantes*) / the wh-phrase (*qué*):

(7) (Hernanz and Brucart 1987: p.77)

- a. *UN ANILLO DE BRILLANTES María quiere
 - b. UN ANILLO DE BRILLANTES quiere María
- 'it is a diamond ring that María wants'

(8) (Toribio 1993: p.128)

- a. *qué el cartero trajo?
 - b. qué trajo el cartero?
- 'what did the mailman bring?'

We assume that a wh-phrase is provided with the feature [+wh] in its base position in addition to the postulation that Σ_1 co-occurring with the wh-phrase is also assigned the same feature at D-structure. Likewise, it is assumed that a non-wh focus phrase is given the feature [+focus], with the same feature assigned to Σ_1 which dominates the phrase involved at D-structure. Furthermore, the features [+wh] and [+focus] assigned to Σ_1 are percolated down to Agrs, as shown in (9):

(9) Hypotheses:

- (a) Σ_1 , assigned the feature ($[+wh]$ or $[+focus]$), obligatorily transmits/percolates the feature involved successively down to Agrs at D-structure.
- (b) When a maximal phrase with the feature ($[+wh]$ or $[+focus]$) moves in the Syntax, the movement must be via the checking domain of a zero category with the same feature assigned or down percolated.⁴⁾

Parallel to Contreras (1991), who modifies Rizzi's (1990) Relativized Minimality in which three types of potential antecedent governor are assumed: X^0 , A-Specifier and A'-Specifier, by adding a fourth type of potential governor, namely, Adjunct, we define Relativized Minimality (henceforth, Extended Relativized Minimality) as shown in (10) (together with the system of the definitions concerned in (11)–(15)):

(10) Extended Relativized Minimality (ERM):⁵⁾

X antecedent-governs Y iff there is no Z, Z (X^0 , A-specifier, A'-Specifier, and Adjunct which is strictly adjacent to and in the same adjunction direction as X) such that

- (a) Z is a typical potential antecedent-governor for Y, and
- (b) Z c-commands Y and does not c-command X.

(11) X is properly governed iff (a) and (b):

- (a) X is canonically head-governed (Licensing)
- (b) X is antecedent-governed (Identification).

(12) X antecedent-governs Y iff

- (a) X and Y are coindexed
- (b) X c-commands Y
- (c) no barrier intervenes
- (d) Extended Relativized Minimality (ERM) is respected.

(13) X head-governs Y iff

(A) a. X is a head

b. X m-commands Y

(B) $X = \{[\pm V \pm N], C, \Sigma_1, \text{Pol}, \text{Agrs}, \Sigma_2, \text{and } T\}$

(C) a. no barrier intervenes

b. Extended Relativized Minimality (ERM) is respected.

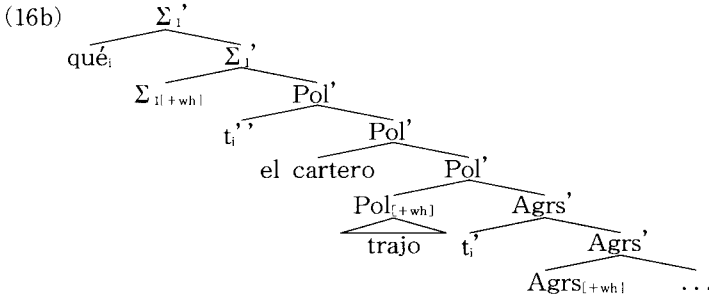
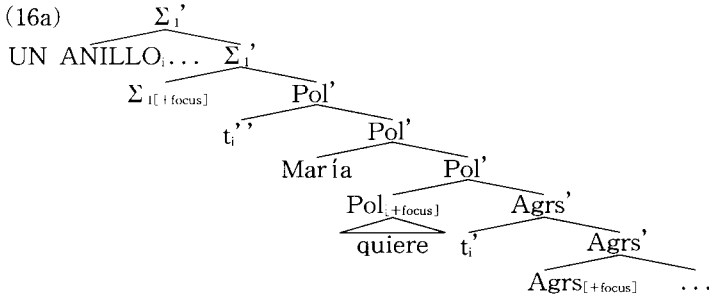
(14) X m-commands Y iff

X does not dominate Y and every maximal projection that dominates X dominates Y.

(15) X c-commands Y iff

X does not dominate Y and every branching category that dominates X dominates Y.

Now we are in a position to elucidate the differences in (7a,b) and (8a,b). In (7a,b), the feature $[+\text{focus}]$ is assigned to Σ_1 with the concomitant successive percolation down to Agrs. It is also the case in (8a,b), in which Σ_1 assigned the feature $[+\text{wh}]$ transmits/percolates the same feature successively down to Agrs. Thus, a maximal phrase with the feature ($[+\text{focus}]$ or $[+\text{wh}]$) has to move through the checking domains of the zero ($[+\text{focus}]$ or $[+\text{wh}]$) categories. Specifically, the $[+\text{focus}]$ element (*un anillo de brillantes*) in (7) and the $[+\text{wh}]$ element (*qué*) in (8) obligatorily move via left-adjointing to Agrs' and Pol' before reaching its final landing site (the left Σ_1' -adjoined position) (see the derivations (16a,b) corresponding to (7a) and (8a), respectively):⁶⁾



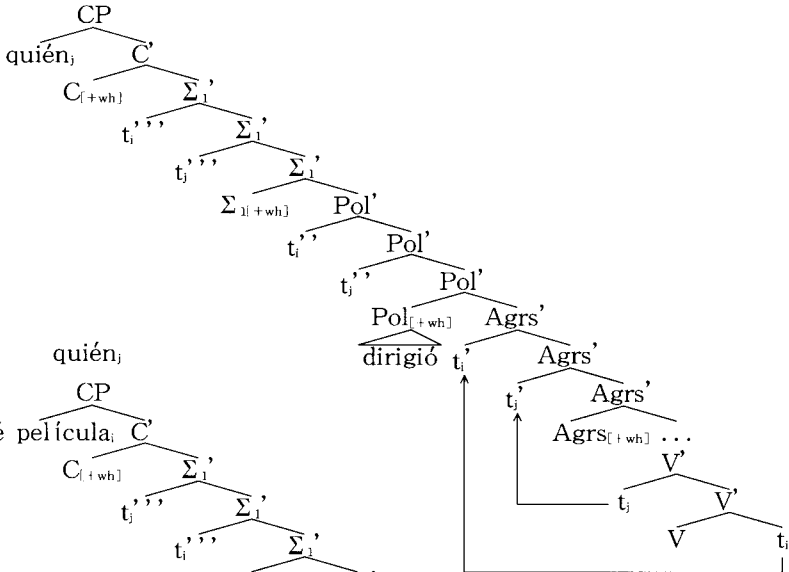
Both the above derivations are rejected by the Empty Category Principle (ECP), since the subject in the left Pol' –adjoined position constitutes an ERM barrier, thus making it impossible for the intermediate trace (t_i'') to antecedent–govern its trace (t_i'). On the other hand, in the grammatical derivations corresponding to (7b) and (8b) in which the subject elements remain in their base position or are moved to Spec(Σ_2), there does not arise such an identification contravention (note that the other licensing condition (that is, proper head–government) is met here).

It should also be kept in mind that in non–root contexts the feature [+wh] assigned to the embedded C is percolated successively down to Agrs. As a consequence of this down–percolation, any derivation in which more than one wh–phrase moves in the syntax will be judged to be ungrammatical, clearly contrary to the facts, as shown in (1a) and (1c). In the next section we will offer a way of reasoning to properly account for the contrast between (1a) and (1c).

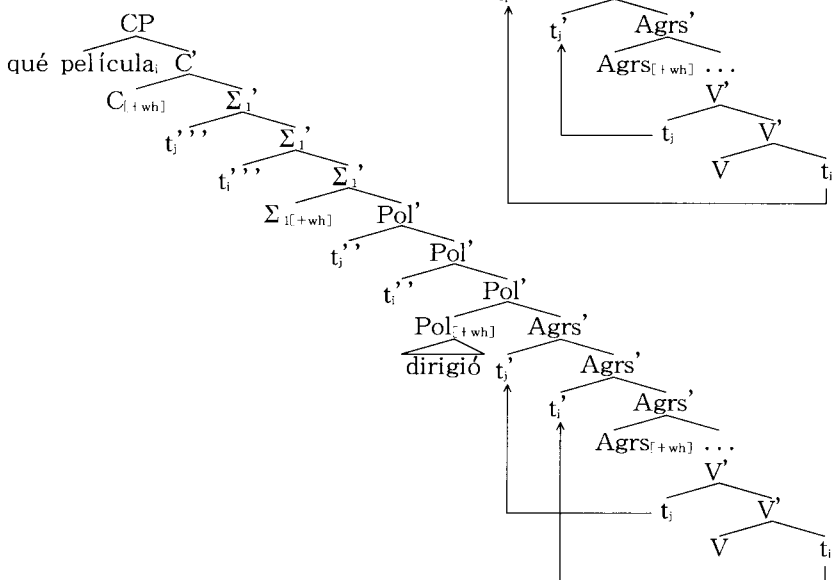
3. A Long-Distance Wh-Movement

As mentioned in the previous section, our line of reasoning will reject a derivation like (1a,c) as violating the ECP. This is shown in the following partial derivations in (17a,b) corresponding to (1a,c), respectively:

(17a) qué película_i



(17b)



It is clear that the intermediate trace (t_i'''), for instance, constitutes an ERM barrier in (17a), so the trace (t_i'') cannot antecedent-govern its trace (t_i'), leading to a contravention of the identification requirement of proper government. It is also the case with the derivation in (17b). Consequently, both derivations will be rejected by the ECP.

Needless to say, for a derivation to be grammatical, every trace in it has to satisfy both the requirements of proper government, that is, licensing requirement (head-government) and identification requirement (antecedent-government); accordingly, both requirements should be met in (17b), the derivation corresponding to (1c) (note that the contrast between (1a) and (1c) cannot properly be accounted for by Subjacency). First, we will show how the derivation in (17b) is judged to be grammatical, postulating a hypothesis with respect to replacement of the identification requirement by Binding:

(18) Hypothesis:

With respect to a referential long-distance movement [$+wh$] element, the requirement of identification may be fulfilled by Binding in non-root contexts.

In (17b), the *wh*-phrase (*qué película*) is a long-distance movement element, thus allowing the identification requirement to be replaced by Binding. Given that the Binding relation between t_i''' and t_i'' , and that between t_i'' and t_i' , and so forth, are licit, the derivation will be judged to be grammatical at least so far as the identification requirement is concerned. Assuming that this replacement by Binding is restricted to a referential phrase, we can predict a derivation in which a non-referential element (like an adjunct) moves from within an embedded [$+wh$] CP to be ungrammatical. This prediction is borne out as illustrated in the following examples:

(19) a. *cuándo no recuerdas quién llegó a este país?

(Torrego 1984: 43)

- ‘when don’t you remember who arrived in this country?’
 b. **dónde no recuerdas qué libro compraste?* (Contreras 1994: 30)
 ‘where don’t you remember which book you bought?’

It appears that this replacement strategy should apply also to the derivation in (17a). Thus, it means that the ungrammatical status of (17a) ought to be reduced to some other factor which we assume is the licensing requirement of proper government (i.e. head–government). From the viewpoint of licensing, it is crucial to pay attention to the difference in the path relation in (17a,b). In (17a), the path (t_j', t_i) is wholly contained in the path (t_j', t_i) while the path (t_j', t_j) and the path (t_i', t_i) are partially overlapping in (17b). Specifically, we will set up the following hypothesis:

(20) Hypothesis (Path Containment Theory):

X^0 cannot head–govern/license $[+wh]$ YP whose path is wholly contained in another $[+wh]$ ZP’s path.

It follows that in (17a), Pol (*dirigió*) cannot canonically head–govern the trace (t_j') while the trace (t_i') can properly be head–governed by Pol in (17b). In sum, the hypothesis in (20), together with that in (18), allows us to give an appropriate explanation of the difference in (1a) and (1c), (1a) being in contravention of the licensing requirement of the ECP (canonical head–government) in contrast to (1b) in which both the requirements are met. Our path containment theory will make a correct prediction in (21) and (22), but not in (23):

- (21) a. *quién no sabes qué compró?* (Jaeggli 1988: 45a)
 ‘who don’t you know what bought?’
 b. **qué no sabes quién compró?* (ibid.: 45b)
 ‘what don’t you know who bought?’

(22) (Torrego 1984: 47b; 54a; Suñer 1992: 40c))

a. *qué diccionario no sabías a quién había devuelto Celia?

‘what dictionary didn’t you know to whom Celia had returned?’

b. a quién dices que no te acuerdas qué le has dicho?

‘to whom do you say that you don’t remember what you have said?’

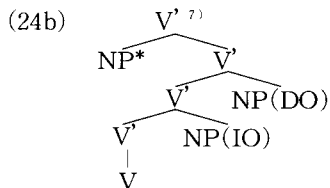
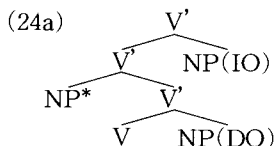
c. a cuáles de ellos sabes quién no les dio una buena recomendación?

‘to which of them do you know who didn’t give them a good recommendation?’

(23) *a quién no sabías qué le regalaron? (Jaeggli 1982: p.170)

‘to whom didn’t you know what they had given?’

Our path containment theory indicates that a subject NP (NP*) is base-generated in a higher position than a direct NP (NP(DO)) within V’s projections (cf. (17a,b)). This theory will properly account for the examples in (21) and (22), on the assumption that the base-position of an indirect NP (NP(IO)) is higher than that of a direct NP (NP(DO)) (22a,b) and that NP(IO) is base-generated in a higher position than NP* within V’s projections (22c) (see the tree diagram in (24a)).



This line of reasoning, however, will predict (23) as well as (22b) to be grammatical. Presumably, it is necessary to set up a certain dialectal variation regarding the base positions of argument NPs. As shown above, in A group, which comprises Torrego’s (1984) and Suñer’s (1992) dialect, NP(IO) is base-generated in a higher position

than NP(DO). On the other hand, in B group which comprises Jaeggli's (1988), the opposite relation holds, that is, NP(DO) is higher than NP(IO) in D-structure (see the tree diagram in (24b)). Furthermore, Jaeggli's (1988) examples in (21a,b) show that NP* is located in a higher position than NP(DO). Our path containment theory will predict (22c) as an example of B group to be ungrammatical (to be checked elsewhere).

It remains to account for the difference between (2a) and (2b) (cited again as (25a,b)):

(25) (Contreras 1994: 16; 17)

- a. *qué coche no sabes cuándo repararon?
'which car don't you know when they repaired? '
- b. qué coche no sabes cómo reparar?
'which car don't you know how to repair? '

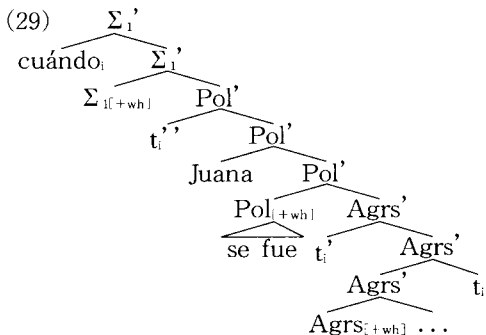
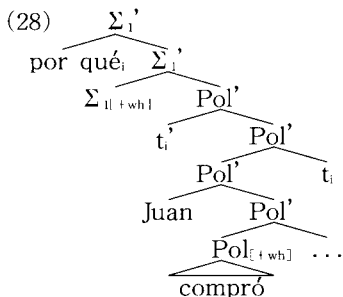
To the best of the author's knowledge, there exist at least two types of Spanish dialect with respect to the behavior of the [+wh] adjuncts as shown in (26) and (27):

(26) X dialect (Torrego 1984; Suñer 1994)

- a. por qué Juan quiere salir antes que los demás?
(Torrego 1984: 15b)
'why does Juan want to leave before the others? '
- b. cuándo Juan consiguió por fin abrir la puerta ayer
(ibid.: 15c)
'when did Juan finally get to open the door yesterday? '
- c. cómo Juan ha conseguido meter allí a su hijo? (ibid.: 15d)
'how has Juan managed to get his son in there? '
- d. [*] dónde María ha almorzado el último mes?
'where did María eat lunch last month? '

- (27) Y dialect (Arnaiz 1992; Goodall 1993)
- a. *por qué* Juan compró ese televisor? (Arnaiz 1992: 6b)
'why did Juan buy that TV? '
 - b. **cuándo* Juana se fue a Albuquerque? (Goodall 1993: 2e)
'when did Juana go to Albuquerque? '
 - c. **cómo* Juana se fue a Albuquerque? (ibid.: 2c)
'how did Juana go to Albuquerque? '
 - d. **dónde* María ha almorzado el último mes? (Arnaiz 1992: 13a)
'where did María eat lunch last month? '

To begin with, we have to explain this dialectal difference. In X dialect, all the [+wh] adjuncts but *dónde* allow the sequence [wh-adjunct + subject NP + finite V] while the same sequence is admitted only for the adjunct (*por qué*) in Y dialect. From the viewpoint of ERM, this shows that the adjunct (*por qué*) is base-generated in the right Σ_1' – or Pol' – adjoined position in X and Y dialect. If this is the case, the derivations of (26a) and (27a) will not bring about any ERM violation. This applies also to (26b,c) (see the derivation in (28) corresponding to (27a) in which the adjunct is assumed to be base-generated in the right Pol' – adjoined position). On the other hand, it seems that the adjunct (*dónde*) in X dialect and all adjuncts other than *por qué* in Y dialect cause an ERM contravention. This contravention can be reduced to the identification requirement of antecedent–government, specifically, on the assumption that the adjuncts involved are base-generated in the right– adjoined position of a maximal projection between Agrs' and T' (AgroP) (see the derivation in (29) corresponding to (27b) in which the adjunct (*cuándo*) is assumed to be base-generated in the right Agrs' –adjoined position):



In (29), the intermediate trace (t_i'') does not antecedent-govern its trace (t_i'), since the subject NP (*Juana*), base-generated in the left Pol'-adjoined position, constitutes an ERM barrier (leading to an ECP violation). Thus, (25a) will be judged to be ungrammatical in both X and Y dialect, as shown in the derivations (30) and (31), corresponding to (25a) (the former being the derivation in X dialect, the latter being that in Y dialect). In (30), the path (t_i', t_i) is wholly contained in the path (t_i', t_i). Consequently, Σ_1 cannot canonically head-govern the trace (t_i') (leading to a violation of proper government). Likewise in (31), the path (t_i', t_i) is wholly contained in the path (t_i', t_i), so that Pol cannot canonically head-govern the trace (t_i). Thus, our path theory will predict these derivations to be ungrammatical because of the licensing requirement not fulfilled (note that the identification requirement on all the traces other than offending traces mentioned above in (30) and (31) and the licensing requirement on the traces of the adjunct (*cuándo*) are met).

CP's, a subjunctive CP, for instance, which seems to have something in common with an infinitive CP (that is, Tense specification dependent on the Tense of the matrix V).

4. The Appearance of a Resumptive Clitic

Contreras (1994) detects the difference in (32a,b), saying that (32a), in which the non-adjunct (*qué libro*) moves from within a wh-island, presents a minor grade of deviation in comparison to (32b), in which the adjunct (*dónde*) makes a long-distance movement, and argues that it is because (32a) is only in contravention of Subjacency, while (32b) violates the ECP as well as Subjacency.

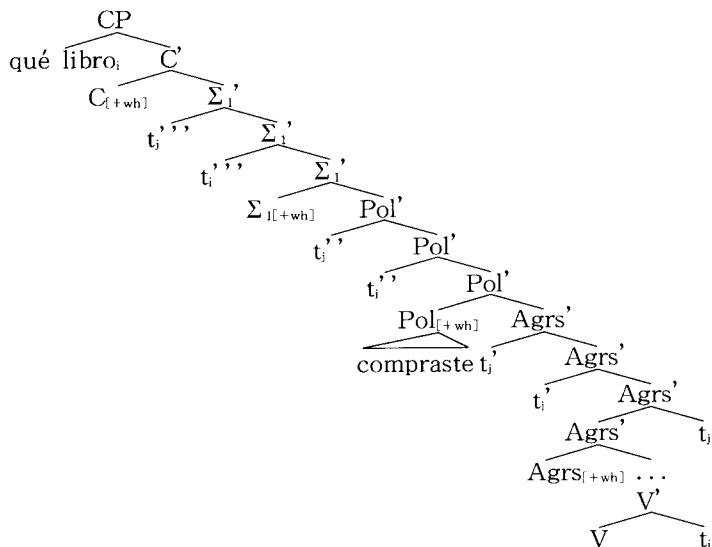
(32) (Contreras 1994: 29; 30; 31)

- a. **qué libro no recuerdas dónde compraste?*
'which book don't you remember where you bought?'
- b. ***dónde no recuerdas qué libro compraste?*
'where don't you remember which book you bought?'
- c. *qué libro_i no recuerdas dónde lo_i compraste?*
'which book don't you remember where you bought it (*lo*)?'

As mentioned in section 1, it is impossible, or at least raises a serious problem, to ascribe the ungrammatical status of (32a) to Subjacency. Accordingly, we cannot adopt Contreras' (1994) way of reasoning in accounting for the difference involved. In our framework, (32a) is in contravention of the licensing requirement of proper government both in X and Y dialect, just like (25a). In contrast, (32b) violates the identification requirement (that is, antecedent-government), since the adjunct (*dónde*) moves from within a wh-island (notice that identification by Binding does not apply to adjuncts). It is clear that (32b) does not violate the licensing requirement, since the path (t_j', t_j) and the path (t_i', t_i) are partially overlapping, as shown in (33). Notice here that the adjunct (*dónde*) seems to be base-generated in the right adjunction site of a maximal projection

between Agrs' and T' (AspoP) (including the uppermost and lowermost limit). This amounts to saying that (32a) is almost as deviant as (32b), contrary to Contreras' (1994) judgement.

(33) d'onde_j



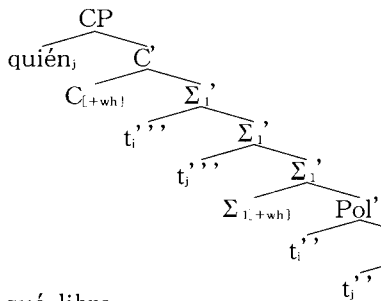
Notice that from the viewpoint of the licensing requirement of proper government there is more than one offending trace in (33), specifically, all the traces of the adjunct (*d'onde*) in the derivation in (33). Therefore, we will assume tentatively that (32b) presents a more serious deviation than (32a) because of more than one violation of identification, in comparison with (32a), in which there arises only one instance of a licensing contravention.

Finally we will discuss the appearance of a resumptive clitic which seems to save a derivation which would otherwise be rejected, as in (32c) and (1c). As mentioned above, a derivation without a resumptive clitic, like (32c), is judged to be ungrammatical because it is in contravention of the licensing requirement of proper government. In other words, we have to show how it is that the licensing violation

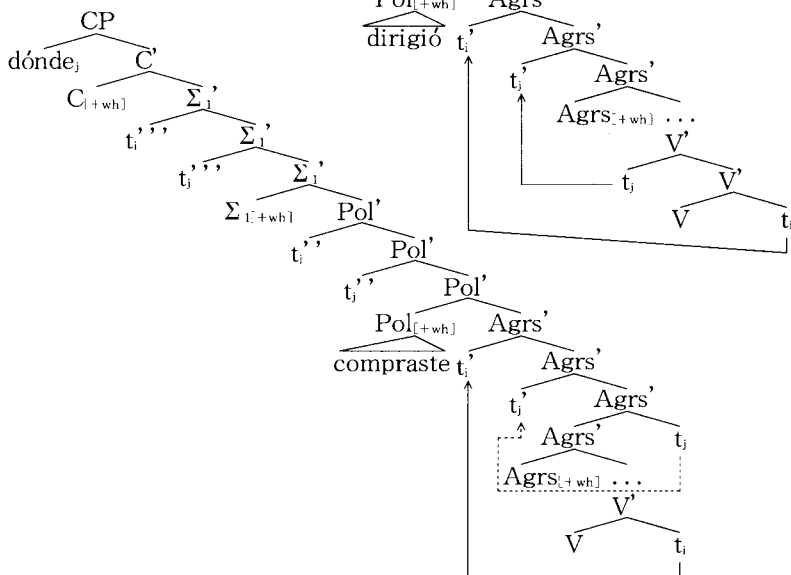
involved is avoided with the occurrence of a resumptive clitic.

Let us show the derivations (34)=(17a)) and (35) corresponding to (1a) and (32c), respectively, so as to ascertain again that it is a licensing violation that is responsible for their ungrammaticality:

(34) qué película_i



(35) qué libro_i



In (34) and (35), the path (t'_j, t_i) is wholly contained in the path (t'_i, t_i) , so that Pol cannot canonically head-govern/license the trace (t'_j) , thus leading to a licensing violation of proper government. It is

clear that the occurrence of a resumptive clitic has a decisive effect on a path relation of *wh*-phrases, since, as mentioned above, (34) and (35) are rejected by our path containment theory. So we have to consider the generation process of a clitic and its behavior in the process of movement.

We start from the idea expressed in Chomsky (1989) and Belletti (1990b) that there exists a functional [*-lexical*] category *Agro* which occupies a position mediating between *T* and *V* (see the structure in (3)). The null hypothesis is that the category *Agro* plays quite the same role which is standardly attributed to *Agrs*: (i) to assign a structural Case (accusative) and (ii) to provide the verb with the features necessary for the concord of an object NP (both via Spec-Head agreement). With respect to the functional [*+lexical*] category *Agrs*, which lacks a specifier position, we assume, along with Toribio (1993), that the assignment of a structural case (nominative) and the concord of a subject NP are performed under government.

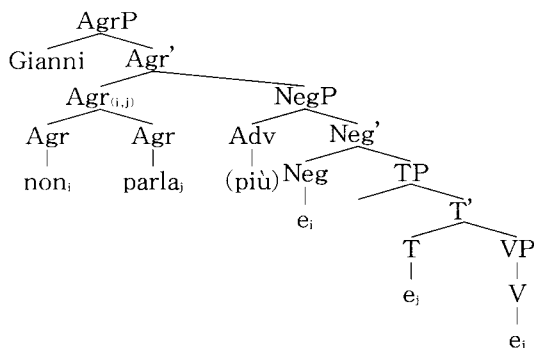
In sum, we postulate that *Agro* assigns a structural Case (accusative) to an object NP moved to Spec (*Agro*) via Spec-Head agreement. In addition to this postulation, it is assumed here that an accusative clitic is base-generated in the position of *Agro* (almost the same idea found in Mendikoetxa(1993)), and that *V* moves upwards, skipping the position of *Agro* through *T* and *Agrs* to its final landing site *Pol*, when *Agro* is lexically realized as a clitic. However, this zero-movement of the verb contravenes the head movement constraint (HMC) because *Agro* forms an ERM barrier (thus leading to an antecedent-government violation).

This ECP violation will be cancelled by the strategy suggested in Belletti (1990b), who argues that the antecedent-government relation between two members of a chain be defined in terms of *non-distinctness* from the indexation of the head of the chain in explaining Italian examples like (36), in which *V* moves skipping *Neg* (*non*) through *T* to *Agr*. Belletti (1990b) assumes the following derivation in (37) for (36):

(36) Gianni non parla (più) (Belletti 1990b: p.31)

‘Gianni does not speak any more’

(37) (Belletti 1990b: p.32)

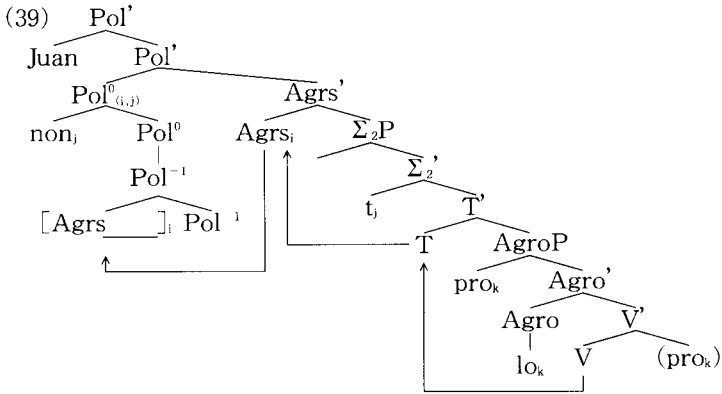


It follows that the antecedent–government relation holds between e_i and e_j in (37), since both empty categories have an index *non-distinct* from the index (i,j) of the Agr head. Along the same lines of reasoning, we can explain the following Spanish examples in (38a,b), assuming that a clitic must left-adjoin to a minimal projection containing Agrs, as shown in the S-structure representation for (38a) (cf. Selkirk 1982 and Guasti 1991):

(38) a. Juan no lo quiere mucho

b. *Juan lo no quiere mucho

‘Juan does not want it much’



Pol (Pol^{-1}) selects Agrs, which will move the former's selected slot ($[\text{Agrs} ____]$). The verb moves, skipping Agro and Σ_2 through T to Agrs, which in turn moves to Pol's selected slot. The HMC violation provoked by V's movement from T to Agrs is cancelled by Σ_2 (*non*) moving to the left Pol^0 -adjoined position (structure-preserving constraint). Likewise, the violation caused by the movement from V to T is cancelled by Agro (*lo*) which moves to the left-adjoined position of the upper Pol^{-1} (it is to be noted that a clitic must left-adjoin to a minimal projection containing Agrs). This way of reasoning will reject (38b) as non-generated. Thus, there exists no offending trace so far as HMC is concerned.

Returning to the problem provoked by the grammatical status of (1a) and (32c), we will set up the following hypothesis:

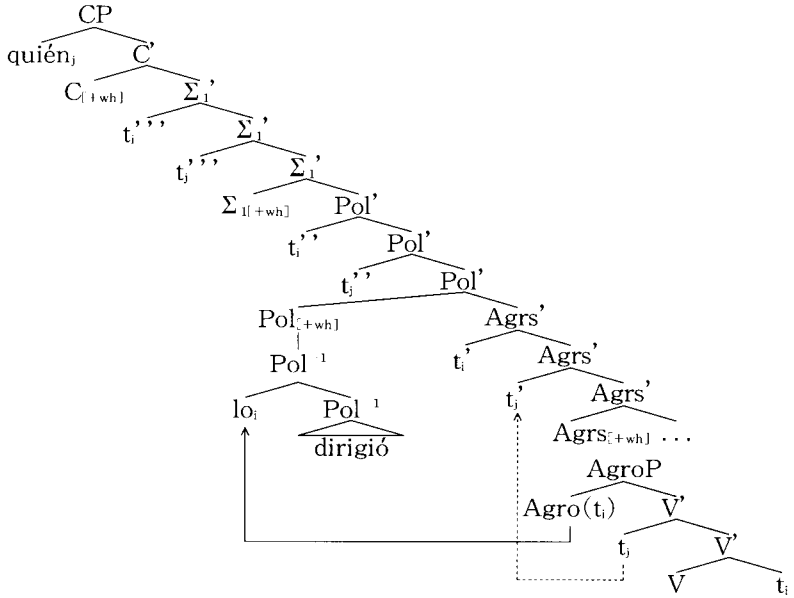
(40) Hypothesis:

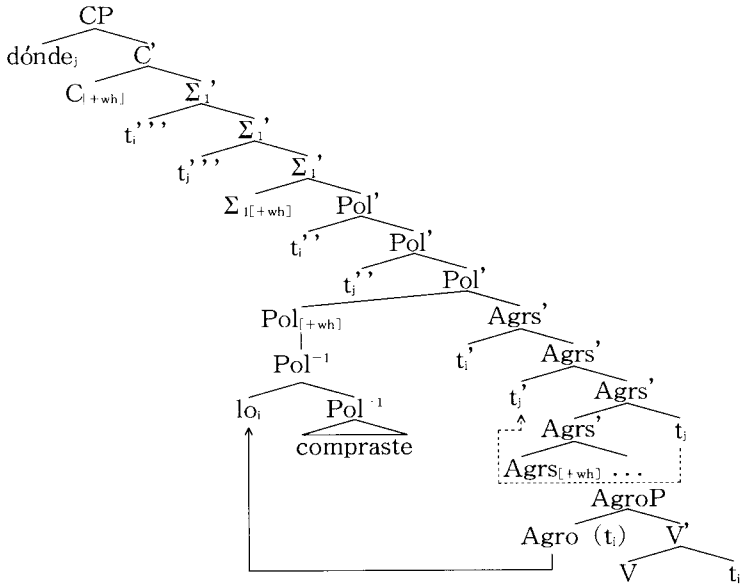
Any path of an accusative NP may be replaced by the path of the clitic corresponding to the accusative NP.

From this perspective, we will see the derivations of (1a) and (32c) again. In (41) corresponding to (1a), the path of the clitic (*lo*) and the path (t_j' , t_i) is partially overlapping, so that Pol can head-govern t_j' (leading to grammaticality). On the other hand, in (42) for (32c),

the path (t_j', t_j) is still contained in the path of the clitic (lo), so that (32c) will be judged to be ungrammatical, clearly contrary to the facts.

(41) qué película_i



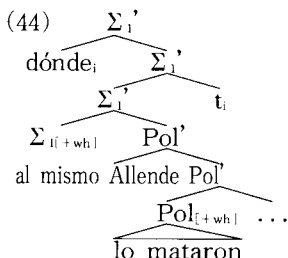
(42) *qué libro_i*

This problem will be overcome by observing the following examples in (43):

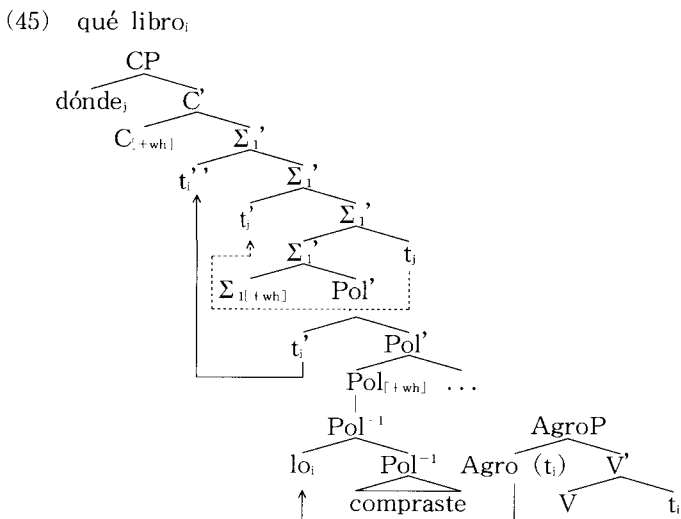
- (43) a. *por qué a Paco_i ya no lo_i aguanta nadie?* (Suñer 1994: 35a)
 'why Paco can nobody stand him already?'
 b. *cuándo a este hombre_i le_i levantarán un monumento?*
 (ibid.:35b)
 'when for this man will they erect a monument?'
 c. *dónde al mismo Allende_i lo_i mataron* (ibid.: 56b)
 'where Allende himself did they kill him?'

As indicated in (26), Suñer (1992, 94) belongs to X dialect in which it is assumed that the adjunct (*dónde*) does not permit the order [wh-adjunct + left-dislocated subject NP + finite verb]. It means that the adjunct is base-generated in the right-adjoined position of a maximal projection between Agrs' and T' (AgroP)

(including the uppermost and lowermost limit). On the other hand, (43c), which seems to be an example of X dialect, allows the sequence [wh-adjunct + LD phrase + finite verb], which means the existence of a subgroup of X dialect (to be called X' dialect). In X' dialect, the adjunct (*dónde*) can be base-generated in the right adjoined position of Σ_1' , as shown in the sole grammatical derivation in which the LD element (*al mismo Allende*) is base-generated in the left Pol'-adjoined position:



The problem mentioned above will be overcome by assuming that (32c) is an example of X' dialect, specifically by postulating the following derivation for (32c), in which the adjunct (*dónde*) is base-generated in the right Σ_1' -adjoined position:



Notice that in (45), the path (t_i', t_j) is not contained in the path of the resumptive clitic (lo) , so that C can canonically head-govern the trace (t_i') (leading to the grammatical status of (32c) in X' dialect). Furthermore in X' dialect, (32a), in which the resumptive clitic (lo) does not occur, will be predicted to be ungrammatical because of a licensing violation (cf. the derivation in (45) for the path relation). Our way of reasoning will reject (32c) as an example of X or Y dialect. Furthermore, it will make it possible to account for the difference between (46a,b):

(46) (Torrego 1984: 47b; Suñer 1991: 10c)

- a. *qué diccionario no sabías a quién había devuelto Celia?
 'which dictionary didn't you know to whom Celia had returned?'
- b. qué libro_i no sabías a quién_j (se_j) lo_i había regalado Bri el
 sábado?
 'which book didn't you know to whom Bri had given it?'

Given that the structure in (24b) is correct for Jaeggli's dialect, our line of reasoning will suggest that a dative resumptive clitic does not save a derivation in which there is a licensing violation, as evidenced in (47):

(47) (= (23))

- *a quién no sabías qué le regalaron? (Jaeggli 1982: p.170)
 'to whom didn't you know what they had given?'

The present analysis is just the beginning of further study on the subject, and, needless to say, the hypotheses built up in this article remain to be refined elsewhere.

Notes

- 1) Contreras (1994) defines a (Subjacency) barrier on the basis of the concept L–Relatedness. Also about this definition, however, there arise similar kinds of problem to those provoked by (1a,c) and (2a,b).
- 2) We tentatively assume that Pol projects to the level X' only when a negative polarity item such as *nunca* “never” occurs and moves to Spec(Pol) as in (i) :
(i) Juan nunca llega tarde ‘Juan never arrives late’
- 3) In the structure for (5d), *nada* is moved to Spec(Pol). The subject (y_0) is thought to be in its base position or in Spec(Σ_2) (a detailed discussion to be made elsewhere).
- 4) It is assumed that the checking domain of the feature ($[+wh]$ or $[+focus]$) assigned or transmitted/down percolated to a zero category is the Spec position of the zero category or the left adjoined position of its maximal projection (Toribio 1993 and Chomsky 1992). As is standardly assumed, the matrix V assigns the feature $[\pm wh]$ to the embedded C by selecting the maximal projection (CP). It is postulated here too that the feature $[+wh]$ assigned to the embedded C is transmitted/percolated successively down to Agrs, concomitantly also the intermediate zero categories (Σ_1 , Pol) endowed with the same feature.
- 5) Notice that we are assuming the conjunctive definition of proper government in relation to the ECP. We will refer to a barrier by the definition in (10) as an ERM barrier.
- 6) In the derivations of (7a) and (7b), the subject elements (*María, el cartero*) can be base-generated in the left Pol’ – or Σ_1' – adjoined position (LD) (note that the finite verb is located in Pol). In either case, our ERM will reject these derivations. In the text, we will offer a derivation in which the subjects are base-generated in the left Σ_1' – adjoined position in (16a,b).
- 7) The sequence $[V+NP(DO)+NP(IO)]$ found in B group will be a derived one, in which some factor (the adjacency imposed on structural Case assignment) forces NP(IO) to move to another place, presumably to the right adjunction site of the uppermost V' .

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